

/5 cont./

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Sāadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldūn, for example, give Saksīwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of analogous names, such as Damsīra, Ganfisa, Gadmiwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksīw b. Ganfis b. Maqmūd. The ms. of Rabat, D, 14, 98, Uns al-faqr by Ibn Qunfūdh, likewise knew Saksīwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhāq wrote Saksāwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

101 But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Isksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Isksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu, as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

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2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
 804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
 178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be
 subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.

484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
 804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures,
 can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from
 bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman,
 that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the
 Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much
 more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and
 one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from
 the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of
 Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the
 same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd
 Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And
 scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the
 kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

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Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

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1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch,
Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif
 central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi
 Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is
 divided into three sections of different color: a white country,
 a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread
 toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtuggâ. Jurassic
 likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

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/42 cont./

(217)
(127)

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/

Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

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(721)

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

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The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addō u Yūsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addō u Yūsuf which it readily distorts in paroxystone. Yūsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/59 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldūn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qāhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saʿdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabin'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Dra region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G. -H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of
the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account
tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come
after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was
the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at
Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them
go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which
will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be con-
tented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gair, Imel-
wan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance,
we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

(195) Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style
there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving
(814) this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble
village scholar.

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Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the
Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

- (127) 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help
of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have
succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa.
They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses
of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by
step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed
property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten
to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

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contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
"joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders
of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agree-
ment, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature
great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable
written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's
history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the
parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceed-
ings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land
records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present
chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been
possible. And there has been recourse accessorially to other, more
lacunary elements.

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/The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a
marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes
and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa
at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of
Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number
of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have
been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case,
which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against
the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The
right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this
very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified pos-
session. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and
judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because
it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

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Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a.
Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the
loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of docu-
mentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted
verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may
venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

/218 cont./

114 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the
616 confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

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[127] It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammem on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Document anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, *R. afr.*, 1948; review in the *Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français*, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," *R. afr.*, 1950;

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The Cycle of the Founder

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Sidi ^CAmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ^CAmer, has his tomb in a. H'addyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addo u Yusef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addo now forms the object. The cupola of his son, ^CAmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturalist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

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These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successorial devolutions, and history.

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/The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ^CAmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

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/301/ This ^cAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ^cAli b. Sa^cid, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

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2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waq'iyya of ^cAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saadian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

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Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ^cAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Qurayeh, starting from a Sa^cid who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ^cAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ^cAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ^cAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

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To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Amer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldūn as the son of H'addō. He is called ^cUmar or ^cAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

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Sidi Lah'sen of Asstif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are preserved in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assuming the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Abderah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanafri, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/316 cont./

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794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic
794 formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands
are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles,
the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up
for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful.
Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do
with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional
element of segregation.

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794 In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to
794 utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that
789 is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has
(688) no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and
black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy.
In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses
for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces
that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is
henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him,
and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or
precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who
frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent,
of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of
these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of mani-
festations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back
only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa,
it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal al-
liances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the
hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes
of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more
recent.

● 127 Here is a document emanating from a fqh, not from the
Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe,
the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial
action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of
view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It
is a confession.

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IV. Communal Law

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Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq. and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

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But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the

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analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambience. Hence the documentary value of these penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

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- 121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission.
- (114) The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evolution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

- 121 We must explain here the material conditions under which the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.
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One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akenous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
• [127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

114 So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
123 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
[022] try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a
kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one
will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to les-
sen the distance that separates us from their primitive civiliza-
tion and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed
without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than
the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when
we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to
initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not
occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to
them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we
spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence
of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without
which, however, it is impossible to understand the transforma-
tion that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years;
only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the
oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature
and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus
by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous re-
search on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses
can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the
nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws
that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhab-
itants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity
has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the
political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[13] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known,
[133] to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration,
• 127 we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of mono-
114 graphs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

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Chapter II

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The Population of the Moroccan South

- I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century).
 - II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs.
 - IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups.
 - VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

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Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.

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It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

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The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34 I

/25 cont./

- *175 I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) --
- [127]

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1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périples d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

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2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

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*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Alt arba'in" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Alt Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zembran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among [651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices • [127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the [114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

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343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always
remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
* [634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which
open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one
of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Ber-
bers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of
Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest
doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters
high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicola-
[625] tions ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each ham-
let; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so
general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for
only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to ob-
tain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order,
he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a
country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in
the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine
(2).

• [127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly
communicated to us a work in preparation on
the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of
the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains
more than 350 articles, which throw the most

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/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of
712 its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the
182 number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door;
[443] special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of
[463] notables who proudly give themselves the title of "Ommal" --
[571] "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the
[625] maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated
343 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties
712 of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the
182 most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the
671 Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of
571 "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodities, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

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1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/, " Hespéris, 1929.

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The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqblit" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

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The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

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2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/, " Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/, " Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

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II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the mo-qaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the